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on earth! In proportion, Sir, as a constitutional Commons house must be an object of unbounded veneration, your Royal Highness will be sensible that the existence of a faction, which should greatly impair its excellence, must to every loyal mind be exquisitely painful. The yoke of a faction, a domestic faction, that had feloniously broken into the citadel of the constitution, and stolen our Palladium, were even worse than foreign war itself. It were the tyranny of a few, who had no other claim to rule over their fellow-subjects, than that of having robbed them. It were to bow the head and bend the knee to an audacious corruption. It were the very lowest depth of dishonour. On the part, Sir, of an English sovereign, on the part of an English people, to such a faction there could be no submission. A truly patriot representative stands, however, pledged to his constituents and his country, to bring before Parliament, at the first convenient opportunity, their great question. It is, Sir, impossible that Parliament should then be at war with England. It is impossible that it should not then imitate those sovereigns who, even while at war with France, eagerly sought an opportunity of offering to her their guarantee of all she claimed as her rights and liberties. After contemplating with the highest admiration the virtue and wisdom so conspicuous in the arrangements made on the first day of April at Paris, we are unable, Sir, to express the

deep concern and the shame we feel, touching the hostile measure which your Royal Highness has been advised to sanction in respect of Norway. If it be just that any one nation shall provide for its own welfare and happiness by the exercise of its own reason, and the freedom of its own will, it must be just that every nation shall freely do the same. England, Sir, can have no right to force on Norway a sovereignty to which she is adverse. For such a purpose to draw the sword were manifestly wicked; but to attempt to subdue independence, innocence and patriotism, by the instrumentality of famine, were shockingly inhuman. We humbly, Sir, and most anxiously intreat your Royal Highness to save your country from this reproach; to avert from her this dishonour. And, Sir, among the many happy results of the pacification of Europe, we contemplate, with inexpressible satisfaction, the annihilation of the disputed points respecting the maritime rights of neutral nations, which have constituted the ground of the everlamentable hostility in which we are engaged with the United States of America. Hence, Sir, we confidently trust, that on both sides of the Atlantic, the miseries and immoralities of war will shortly be at an end, and the whole civilized world repose under the peaceful olive; studying and practising only the social and moral duties, arts and accomplishments, for their general improvement and happiness.

MONTHLY RETROSPECT OF POLITICS.

IN our last Retrospect, we neglected to observe that the people themselves, as well as potentates, must receive practical instruction, whether they be actors or spectators, whether on the stage or off it, from the sublime and pathetic drama of the day, and the moral which its passing incidents must impress, more or less, upon every mind. In all the countries of Europe, but most particularly in that of

France, the people themselves have perhaps required the castigation of adversity. A love of war, whether it be passion, or habit, or instinct, has always marked, or *scarred* the French character, through all ages, and under all appellations. This inordinate appetite for military achievement, first produced, and has always fostered, a self-exaltation and vain glorious disposition, which seeks not so much for useful fame as os-

tentatious notoriety; and by rendering war the divinity of their worship has, in reality, done nothing more nor better, than made the barbarism of the rudest ages, the grace and glory of the most refined.

Men are fascinated and fooled by certain words. The term, *glory*, ('smeared as it is with dust and blood') has been, for centuries bandied about between the sovereigns and the subjects in France. It has become the very plume of national character, and, in consequence, alienated the minds of that great and generous people from cultivating, to the utmost, the slow but solid blessings of a soil so richly gifted by nature, borne away as they have always *willingly* been, by a passion for exploit and military adventure, rather than patient acquisition, and household happiness. All the fierce vanities associated with the profession of arms, have generated an undue and extravagant valuation of themselves; made them delight in the superlative in speech, and the superfluous in action; and while, with characteristic courtesy, they seem to prefer and compliment other countries, never fail to apply the favourite term *superb*, "par excellence," to every thing connected with their own.

"Let the eagle be brought to me that I may also embrace it. Ah! dear eagle, may the kisses which I bestow upon you, rebound to posterity." These were among the last words of Napoleon when he was about to leap into the gulph of oblivion, and they bear all the appearance and glow of authenticity. But are they ought else than the affectionate predilection, the kindred salutation of a man of *force*, to a bird of *prey*, although the lightning plays about its beak, and it grasp in its talons the thunderbolt. Does not

this address of one carnivorous animal to another, strikingly indicate that desperate devotement, which, in the result, has proved equally fatal to the glories of the individual and those of the nation; and we shall therefore repeat that it is good for that nation to have that vanity humbled, which is the offspring of military glory. Let France know and feel that she has been conquered; and while we lay bare this ungracious truth, which the generous politeness of the allied forces has concealed from the public view, and thus have, as it were, conquered France a second time, we do it with the hope that the French people will profit in character and conduct by the humiliation.

Great it assuredly is. Prussian and Russian troops man their forts and batteries, are quartered in their towns, and garrison the metropolis. The Swiss guards do duty once more at the palaces of the sovereign. A large portion of the allied force (75,000) consisting of equal proportions of Russians, Austrians, and Prussians, is to remain in the country; the whole to be in the pay of Great Britain. Fifteen French fortresses are to remain with the allies as security for the repayment of 62 millions sterling, laid as contribution, and the fortresses to be restored individually as the money is paid by instalments, during the period of fifteen years. Even their new constitution cannot, we think, be said to breathe freely, while the Russian, and Prussian, and Austrian, are (the truth must be said,) in possession of the country.

A liberal constitution must be framed *at liberty*, and we confess we do not well understand the mode in which these constitutions of *Holand* and *France* emanate from the sovereign to the nation, rather than from the nation to the sovereign,

"engaging," as the king of France expresses himself, "to lay before the representative assemblies the result of *our* labours, with a commission *chosen* from those two bodies." The basis is good, the articles guaranteed are indispensable, but in such affairs, the *form* is, we may venture to say, most *material*; and we think that the order of things is here inverted; for the sovereign should not reform, but ratify, should not seem to influence the appointment of commissioners chosen in the precipitation of royalism, but to accept of the fundamental code of the constitution, framed by a representative of the Sovereign People, for whom government is itself created. In short, while the Allied Powers are on, and over the French territory, a free constitution cannot be made, though it may be granted, and the King can never be made powerful by law, unless the People be free in fact.

France, then, and the Emperor of France, even in their victories, have been the vassals, and are now the victims of military glory, that fickle and fugacious splendour, which like the fire called St. Elmo's, plays in the night, upon the point of the spear, and the bayonet, and the helmet, but never remains so long in the same spot, as to subject itself to a close examination. And we wish to observe that this passion for glory, not only gives a tendency to vanity and exaggeration, but what is still worse, is attended with an inquietude of spirit which generates fickleness and inconstancy of character, such as (we will speak as we think,) is most *ingloriously* exemplified in those adulatory addresses with which the Paris papers are now gorged.

We know it. Twenty years of the most sanguinary war have destroyed for a time the military power

of France. To save her capital, to save her country from a most cruel civil war, it became *necessary* to humble the French glory to the destinies of the day, but perhaps, it was *unnecessary* to speak in terms so full of flattery that the most voracious vanity will be forced to exclaim, "hold, enough." When we recollect the motto of the Legion of Honour—"*Honneur et Patrie*," we must prefer the adhesion of the French marshals, and the French people, the cold and respectful silence maintained by the old foot Imperial Guards. Of all qualities either in the man or in the million, the most to be despised is fickleness of character and conduct, and the devotion to military glory depending chiefly on uninterrupted success, the moment good fortune forsakes the victor, he is abandoned and vilified, not to say betrayed.

On the whole, it is to be hoped for the blessing of the future time, that the central country of Europe which has held itself up so long as a model for mankind, will now be convinced of the fragility and futility of military glory; and learn from the fate of Napoleon that "he who overcomes by force hath overcome but half his foe." We earnestly wish that the Emperor of Elba would take one book with him, written by a man who was a real and perennial glory to human nature, as well as to the French nation, and who was exceedingly well acquainted with the lamentable defects in their national character. Let *him* read Telemachus. Let *them* read Telemachus: and then judge whether it be the summit of human praise, to organize large masses of human creatures for the single purpose of *force*, abolishing all distinction of character, every thing voluntary and spontaneous, and putting a stop to the progress of knowledge

and the spirit of philosophy, by that uniformity of discipline, which is always ready to defend or to offend, without scrutiny or examination.

It is indeed a contrivance to turn the spirit of liberty into what is called an "*esprit de corps*," that is, a mass of matter, subjected to one arbitrary will, which turns and winds it at pleasure, and which is, with equal readiness, turned and changed to a different master, vibrating, as the French nation are now doing, from one ruler to another, with what we cannot help thinking, a most *inglorious* versatility. "*Vive le roi!—a bas l'empereur!*" that very emperor who but yesterday, was, by the sage senate, as well as the universal people, exalted to the skies.

It may perhaps proceed from viewing human nature with a degree of misanthropy, contracted from a disappointed and bruised sensibility, but we honestly declare, that when we observe the vain and versatile exaggeration of the public addresses and speeches, first applied to Napoleon, and now bestowed on Louis; when we see the Marshals of France now officiating as crutches to prop up the tottering monarch, while the base Angereau ingratiates himself to his new lord by the abuse of his late master; when we read all the flatteries bestowed on the one, and all the indignities offered to the other by this fickle and vain glorious people, we are apt to think the whole "a huge translation of hypocrisy," which ought to terrify rather than please the personage thus bepraised; the heap of *fleur de lys* seems to breathe a sickly and suffocating odour; and we gladly escape into the pure and open air, to receive the sweet, the sincere, the silent gratitude of the vegetable creation, that always repays with in-

terest the kindness conferred upon it, and is never ingrateful. We have inserted among the documents the address of the city of London, which we think is well contrasted to the adulations of the French; and is a dignified statement of public affairs, with the prospects of peace, and the just rights, as well as true interests of the British Empire.

Four individuals at Paris, command the destinies of Europe; and we trust that they will put into practice a comprehensive and consistent system of political morality, not founded on the arbitrary principles of glory, convenience, utility, but on the simple principles of justice, (equally applicable to the most multitudinous association, as to an individual,) and on the spirit of preservation and use, not of destruction. There appear evident signs of a reconciliation, an adjustment about to take place, a *civil* concordat, between arbitrary and popular systems of government, by the wise moderation of monarchs, coalescing with the exercise of representative assemblies of the people; and it is to be hoped, that this improved knowledge in the great art of ruling men, (the true statistics,) will not only secure authority, but render factions less inveterate, seditions less frequent, connecting industry, knowledge and humanity, in the social institutions, as closely as they are really connected in nature. There is, we trust, a better genius which now inspires the first powers of Europe, and will be illustrated in the definitive treaty of peace, not only consummating national independence, but recognizing and guaranteeing the privileges of the people as the surest basis of sovereign authority. Yes, we acknowledge it,—sicken- ed and disgusted with that *slavery*

to change, which seems to characterize the French nation, our love of liberty, like the sorely hunted deer, takes refuge from the pack, the yelping kennel, in the arms of the huntsmen themselves; and if doomed to death, would die "stricken by many princes," rather than be devoured by hounds so fierce, and so *fawning*!

Yet, when we consider the convenient transfers of territory, the first appropriation of Finland, the subsequent cession and present blockade of Norway, in order to starve the people into submission to a power which they detest, and thus to make them over from one owner to another, like cattle attached to the soil, in contradiction to the established maxims of public law, and the first principles of right and justice; *this* appears a most lamentable inconsistency in the councils of the Allied Powers, and an evident subserviency to particular or to personal interests, which being in one case admitted, will be soon counterpoised by a similar spoliation of another party; and thus the spirit of conquest may again introduce the practice of general plunder. Britain goes to war with America in support of the principle that subjects cannot transfer their allegiance, and yet she countenances, and even compels a sovereign to transfer the allegiance of a whole people, and without any regard to *their* choice, or to *his* compact, to use them as a proprietor, and not as a sovereign. She even assists the arms of Sweden, by suffering her navy to be employed for the purpose of reducing a brave and noble, a simple and sincere people; and thus she Napoleonizes Norway, while she sends Bonaparte to Elba.

Verily, this is a hard and inconsistent world; fair, indeed, and florid, and smiling, on the surface,

but the deeper we penetrate to the centre, the harder it appears to become. Maskelyne, by an approximating calculation he made from the rock of Schellalien, was induced to think that this hard-hearted globe was, in its centre, (or nucleus, as it is learnedly called) considerably denser than the most compact iron. We doubt it not; but we venture to speak only of this globe, and not concerning the men of it. Falstaff, indeed, said that this world was pretty much like himself, *wicked and round*; Mr. Grattan, (a very different man) in his pamphleteering days, has told us that public bodies had no heart, no sympathies with the sufferings of their fellow-creatures; and even anatomy can inform us that the heart of man takes care to supply *itself* with blood, before it imparts a drop of the vital fluid to the rest of the body. These authorities will be scarcely sufficient to justify the selfish inhumanity and ambitious policy of Sweden, or the flagrant inconsistency of the allied powers, who would assist Spain in her struggle for liberty and independence, and yet would conspire to starve Norway into a surrender of their arms, their fortresses, their country, the glories of their ancestors, and the hopes of their posterity.

We recollect the words of Xenophon, simple, honest, and patriotic, and trust that the Norwegians will act in correspondence to such sentiments. "We have nothing, as you see, O Philinus! but our arms and our valour. While we keep possession of the one, we can avail ourselves of the other; but if we deliver up our arms, we also surrender our persons. Do not, therefore, expect that we shall throw away the only advantages which we still enjoy: on the contrary, be assured, that, relying on our arms and our valour, we will dispute with you

those advantages which you possess." "Brave Norwegian warriors," says the Regent of Norway, "upon your courage depend the hopes of a whole people. Know, that the first condition exacted for the surrender of Norway, was, that all the fortresses and munition of war should be yielded up to the Swedes, and that all of you should be disarmed. But this shall not be. Your valour shall preserve Norway. The old men, the mothers, and the children of this kingdom shall rest safely under the ægis of those warriors, led to the field by your general and your regent. Let our motto be,—victory and liberty, or death!"

The sublime resistance of Norway presents a striking contrast to the quicksand of loyalty in humiliated France, and the bases of the constitution agreed upon in the late diet at Easwold, are like blocks of immortal granite to support the edifice of public liberty. Norway, a hereditary limited monarchy, the kingdom free and indivisible, the regent, king. The Lutheran religion that of the state, but the professors of every other religion preserved in their rights and privileges. The right of making war and peace, and the right of pardoning in the king, but the legislative authority and the right of levying taxes exercised by the representatives of the people; the judicial power distinct; no hereditary privileges to persons or corporation; industry and civil occupations subjected to no new restrictions; and the press to be free from all restraint.

Norway is unanimous; and we trust that the whole people will form a solid "sodalitium" against either the actual force, or the more dangerous corruption of the foreign foe. May they resist bribery and intrigue by the force of that con-

cord which is the result of equality among subjects, and in the midst of their mountains, may this simple and sincere people distrust the entrance of gold, but make use, good use, of the more precious metals; "of iron to obtain success, and brass to eternize it."

The genuine principles of the British constitution, notwithstanding some disgraceful exceptions, are in triumphant march over the globe, and the highest potentates are in the progress of being converted to the expediency, as well as justice of enlarging the bases of popular privilege, and, by that very means, securing monarchical government from the dread of periodical revolution. Nothing will be more wise on the part of the Allied Powers, nothing more prescient on the part of Louis the XVIIIth, than to protect the monarchy, by the republicanism of the French constitution. Let the living ghost of Bonaparte, whether it be seen on the rock of Gibraltar, or in the isle of Elba, operate as an external conscience, a perpetual practical monitor to the French monarch of the true mode of establishing his throne as firmly as *may be*, amidst the swell, and rage, and foam of this ambitious, vainglorious, and inconstant people, now bearing the gallant vessel high on its waxing tide, now waning, and leaving it, with tackle torn, upon the rock or the strand.

We wish to think well of the Allied Powers; and we reject the thought, that, even in their proposed feasts of friendship and cordiality, this great confraternity are preparing new plans of dividing Europe, and secret schemes of spoliation. We trust that they will have the courage, the wisdom, the generosity, the glorious consistency, to reverence the rights of mankind, either individually, or as a nation, and to see-

pect, in particular, the independence and integrity of France. We trust that they will entertain no ideas of compelling the king of France, in many respects so much in their power, to diminish his army or reduce his navy in such a manner as to render his country perfectly defenceless against any foreign power. Such conduct would only revive the most desperate animosities, and produce all the horrors of civil war. In restoring every thing to its place, let not France be obliterated from the map of Europe, or degraded to the rank of a secondary power, for that will only instigate her people, as soon as the garrison is withdrawn, to commence a new revolution. France cannot be held quiet by garrisoning cautionary cities, but only by liberal institutions, and the practice as well as the profession of a popular government.

Louis the XVIIIth is placed in a most perilous elevation, and it requires great firmness of character and conduct to sustain his prosperity, even more than to support his misfortunes. We see the military spirit always predominant in France, even in its present humiliation; and the precariousness of power that depends upon foreign assistance, rather than its intrinsic fortitude and firmness, is, we fear, too apparent in the metropolis of France at this moment, and makes the Allied Sovereigns uncertain as to their future conduct. In considering the situation of Louis, we vividly recollect the account given of Galba, as described in the record of Tacitus, (which still lives, as it were, before the reader's eyes,) an author whose whole page is a magnificent piece of mosaic work, where the story depicted is grand and mournfully sublime, and every sentence is a coloured gem, perfect in itself, yet contributing to the gen-

eral result of the masterly combination. Galba, the emperor, aged and infirm, is elevated in a chair on the shoulders of the waving crowd, "agebatur huc illic Galba, vario turbæ fluctuantis impulso, completis undique basilicis ac templis, lugubri prospectu, neque populi aut plebis ulla vox, sed attoniti vultus, et conversæ ad omnia aures, non tumultus, non quies, qualem magnæ metus, et magnæ iræ silentium est." Such was the representation of Rome, at that time, and the very same, is the picture of the French monarchy and monarch at the present day.

A document has lately appeared in all the public prints, dated at Rome, the 16th of Feb. 1814, with the signature of Quarantotti, Vice-Prefect of the college "de Propaganda," which has been, by the best authority, declared genuine and authentic; issuing also from a power quite competent to communicate the sentiments of the Holy See. This document, in the nature of a mandatory *rescript*, (or answer, on being consulted on some difficult question,) has given a Papal sanction to the late relief bill, in all its arrangements of securities, oaths, double, or rather triple veto, and lay ecclesiastical board; and it decrees, that the Catholics should receive with gratitude the law which was proposed the preceding year for their emancipation, that very law which has been protested against by the whole voice of Ireland, clergy as well as laity, in a variety of forms, and with the most unqualified and matured disgust and reprobation. Certainly this *rescript* was a strange and hazardous measure; and indeed the communication appears to have been thus hastily emitted from the relique of Papal authority left at Rome, (although the liberation of the Pope must have been shortly

expected) for the particular purpose of producing an intended *political* effect on the Catholic clergy, and through them on the laity, *before* the renewed consideration of their petition to parliament, and without a doubt, we dare say, in the Vice prefect's mind, that an instant acquiescence and silent submission to his mandate would take place throughout the whole of this *missionary* country. (We had thought, somewhat more highly of the ancient church of Ireland!)

The Vice-prefect assuredly appears even less acquainted with the principles of the British constitution, than he is with the practice of an elegant Latin; nor is it a matter of surprise that in his situation, he should be perfectly uninformed with regard to the strict and inextricable complication of civil and ecclesiastical affairs, in the whole tenor of Canning's relief bill. It is not a matter of surprise that the Italian prelate should conceive there were neither *liberties* of the Irish Church, nor a knowledge of civil rights among the Irish community. However he may be provisionally invested with pontifical powers, this serves only to render him more ignorant, that the supremacy of the first bishop in order and dignity has been considered as itself subordinate to the established rights and customs of the church universal. And with respect to the political part of the bill; the influence of the crown; the archiepiscopal obsequiousness; the efficacy of introducing worldly views, and mean ambition as a means of preserving unity of faith, and purity of moral doctrine; or even of maintaining order and regularity in the church discipline, when all confidence will be lost between the pastors, and the people; with respect to *these consequences* of this heteroclite bill, it is not sur-

prising to us that this prelate should be totally ignorant, whose only aim seems to have been the exercise of power without any reference either to the history of the rights of the Irish Church, or to the recent progress of political knowledge among the people whom he addresses.

Anxious indeed he appears that there should be no room for schism among the Catholics of Ireland, yet he seems utterly to forget that he is a most notorious example of a *schism in himself*, as is strikingly manifested in a letter issued in 1805 from the same college, and signed by his name, inculcating doctrines the very reverse of those avowed in the late edict, and which proves him either to have become the agent and instrument of a party, or to have calculated upon a ready sacrifice, not only of the will, and wish, but of the memory and understanding of this *missionary* country.

This Italian priest no doubt calculated, in his ignorance, upon the immediate adhesion of the Irish people, but if he did so, never was there man, never was there a prompting party more mistaken. The Catholic clergy of Ireland have protested against the document, and the second order of the priesthood have not delayed to declare the rescript "not obligatory," and even to recommend an arrangement of domestic nomination, by which we understand, such regulations (always supposing the consent of the holy see,) as will make the appointment of bishops purely ecclesiastical, without political interference or influence of the crown, and, at the same time, will preclude all fear of foreign influence; the bishops being elected by dean and chapter, their nomination is submitted to the canonical institution of the Pope, and by a disuse of *episco-*

pal coadjutors, the inferior clergy will thus be restored to their rightful rank in Christian society.

This inferior, or parochial clergy have not scrupled to precede the episcopal synod in their reprobation of all lay interference direct or indirect, in the appointment of bishops, and not less in their disinclination to that state endowment, which must infallibly lead to disassociate the pastors from the people. The rupture of that connexion, the loss of the confidence of the people, they well foresee must be followed by the ruin of their religion; for united to their flocks by a greater variety of duties, than in other denominations, their worldly interests, and their spiritual duties correspond, and, as it were, converge to the same point; their hopes here, and hereafter, are all concentrated in their sacred office, but if these should separate, if the poison of secular influence should be poured into the sacerdotal chalice, then will corruption of teachers become the bane of truth, then will it be found that the independence and integrity of the church, and state hire, can never consist long or certainly together.

There is a Christian liberty, in the Catholic as well as Presbyterian church, which, in spirit, nobly declines to suspend the ministers of religion to general gaze as pensionaries upon the state, and, in practice, has hitherto rendered the Catholic clergy faithful servants in Christ, who find an obedience to *two* masters in matters appertaining to religion, perfectly incompatible with their supreme obligations. Break the habitual bond of affectionate and reverential attachment between them and their people, the flock will be scattered, and the pastors will be degraded and contemned; the most fatal of schisms

will that become which separates the members of the church, tears to pieces the seamless coat, and renders unity a mere shadow of a shade.

Let it be recorded in the page of history, and be deeply engraven on memory, that the Catholic Bishops have pledged themselves neither to seek nor desire any other earthly consideration for their spiritual ministry to their respective flocks, "save what they may, from a sense of religion and duty, voluntarily afford us;" and the laity have seconded the apostolic declaration, by resolving, repeatedly, "that, as Irishmen, and as Catholics, we never can consent to any dominion or controul over the appointment of our prelates, on the part of the crown, or of the servants of the crown."

At an aggregate meeting of the Catholics of Ireland, on the 19th inst. the laity have once more preceded the clergy in declaring "that any decree, mandate, rescript, or decision whatsoever, of any foreign power or authority, religious or civil, ought not, and cannot of right, assume any dominion or controul over the political concerns of the Catholics of Ireland;" they thank the priests of the arch-diocese of Dublin for their zeal and alacrity in declaring their sentiments respecting the mischievous document signed B. Quarantotti; and they beseech the reverend prelates about to assemble in synod on the 25th inst. to take into consideration the propriety of *for ever* precluding any public danger, either of ministerial or foreign influence in the appointment of Catholic prelates.

The Irish Catholics (we call them so, particularly now, rather than *Roman* Catholics) have thus approved themselves well worthy of political liberty, and the rescript from Rome has in reality opened

a vista to consequences of the highest importance to the present, as well as future interests of Ireland. The Irish Catholic will suffer neither the Pope to intermeddle with his politics, nor the King with his religion.

If the bill for his relief should, most artfully, have confounded, as was hoped, in inextricable confusion, matters lay and matters ecclesiastical; if the rescriptor from Rome should have been so greatly imposed upon by others, or so greatly imposed upon himself as to believe the bill to have been purely ecclesiastical, and therefore wholly subjected to his decision, and in consequence of that decree of his, to popular acceptance, the PEOPLE, of whom even Lord Mansfield was constrained at one period of his life to say, "They are almost always in the right; the great may sometimes be in the wrong, but the body of the people are always in the right;" The PEOPLE of Ireland, assembled in aggregate meeting, have, by their attachment to country, and by *that alone*, developed all the crafty commixture of this bill of pretended relief, and assigned to the temporal and spiritual authority their separate jurisdiction. The best armed magnet does not more effectually separate the filings of iron from those of brass, than the patriotic affinity (the moral magnetism of our nature,) enables the people to separate the bill, or *bull* of relief into its distinct ingredients.

The Catholics of Ireland will approve at all times their submission in spirituals to the living headship of their church, and they will as readily, and unanimously approve their fealty to the head of the state, by the oath of allegiance, (that very oath, which was deemed sufficiently obligatory in the articles of the treaty of Limerick,) but

they will not be deceived, nor cajoled by underhand reciprocation of spiritual and temporal powers, for the purpose of reiterating the collusion of Henry and Aulien, and of making their country (rising of late into new and glorious distinction,) revert again, by a wretched and rapid retrogradation, into the miserable servitude of the dark ages. Better, a thousand times better, it were submerged in the ocean. It might arise again restored in time to all its loveliness, and inhabited by a race of men more deserving of the favour of Heaven.

The aggregate meeting on the 19th, in their resolutions, indignantly repelled the false and base calumnies of certain individuals among the grand juries, respecting the intentions, principles, and conduct of the general Board of the Catholics of Ireland. Indeed, unless the Catholic people be possessed of some such definite and authentic organ, they must always lie at the mercy of false imputations, and the body at large be literally, as well as politically comminuted, to dust. There is not a riot that would occur, not an imprudence, even in an individual, which would not be attributed to the whole religious denomination, did not the Board stand ready to examine, and if necessary, to refute unfounded assertions, and to crush those reptile calumnies in their crawling state, before they get wings, and propagate, and prepare the way to the continuance of a penal *toleration*, if not to the renewal of a direct persecution.

On the whole, the Catholics of Ireland, in their late treatment of the rescript from Rome, have established their freedom from foreign interference, and their readiness to adopt the plan of domestic nomination, either by chapters, or by the clergy collectively. For the cler-

gy at large are truly the Church, and bear the same relation even to the highest spiritual authority, as the people do to the temporal authority of the civil constitution. "Uter potentior, populus an lex? Universus, opinor, populus." So the church *universal*, is, in truth and christian faith, the *Catholic clergy*, constituent, or represented in council, and attached as they are to the chief pontiff, as the centre of Catholic unity, in respect to the exposition of doctrine, yet with respect to the organization or local discipline of the church, and still more particularly with respect to any unconstitutional interference of the Pope, in regard to civil rights, they do not scruple to assert and maintain their rights and liberties, both as citizens of a free constitution, and as members of a church, obedient, but not servile, subordinate in all its members, but not despotical in its supremacy.

The public prints abound in so many contradictions at present for the purposes of party, or of mercantile speculation, that we can only express our hopes of a speedy accommodation with the United States, such a peace as will not lay the grounds for future war; not founded on the principles of aggrandizement, or a perversion of the law of nations, but on the bases of mutual respect, and reciprocal utility. "Now that we are strong," is an evil suggestion, that instigates too many in these countries to schemes of conquest and re-colonization of America, to make it a new field for the extension of military glory; to procure indemnity for our expenses; to drive the Americans from the lakes, from Louisiana, Florida, and the banks of Newfoundland; to maintain the right of search, and the international law, in all its extent, is at present received in Europe. This would be a new glory to the

British arms; yet, notwithstanding this predominant passion of the day, notwithstanding even the people cry out, as at the Westminster meeting "no peace with America," let us hope that the administration of both countries will speedily effectuate a happy conciliation. We acknowledge that peace is the object of our most sanguine wishes; because the public mind and attention would in that case be turned to its domestic concerns, and to that reform in the British Constitution, which is now wanting to give it its due precedence over the rest of Europe.

Now when the first burst of joy, for the expected return of peace, is a little abated, fears and apprehensions seize the mind; lest its return should not be as certain, or its continuance be founded as permanently, as in the first moments of sincere rejoicing was anticipated. Peace was grateful and refreshing to the feelings, and the more so, as the prospect was unexpected and the sufferings and privations, occasioned by war and its concomitants, taxation and uncertain trade, had been severely felt by all, who in one shape or another were not partakers in the plunder. Sober reflection diminishes the gay visions perhaps too hastily enjoyed, from a consideration of the inflammatory materials and the military spirit so general in Europe, lest they may lead to fresh interruptions of the inestimable blessings of peace. Many things concur to increase these apprehensions. France is still unsettled. The *beloved* Ferdinand in Spain lifts himself against the people, who supported him through many sufferings. Bonaparte has fallen, at least for a time, of whom in his prosperity, the words of the poet* are justly applicable—

* Joanna Baillie.

—“with all his reptile cunning,
Writhing and turning thro’ a maze of wiles,
Believes his genius form’d to rule man-
kind:

And calls his sordid wish for territory,
That noblest passion of the soul, ambi-
tion.”

But are his successors, perhaps equally groveling in their ambition, entitled to the impartial praise of the philosopher and philanthropist? The conduct of the allies must always lie open to suspicion, while their boastings of their exertions in the south “for the deliverance of Europe,” are contrasted with their unprincipled conduct in the north, respecting Norway. Men unawed by popular opinion, and who will not bend to the fashionable casuistry of the day, do not hesitate to say they are not actuated by principle, but that their vain boasting is a hypocritical pretence. The Government of Britain shamefully lends her aid to the blockade of Norway, to starve a brave people into submission. Shame on these deliverers of Europe! Norway has as good a right to be free from a foreign yoke, as France, Spain, and Portugal.

It is but just to withhold confidence from the allies till they prove their claim to it: and until we see the terms of the treaty, and their armies withdrawn from France, it is right to suspend our opinion. Let us wait with caution, before we give credit to the vaunted purity of their motives, and let their future deeds be the measure of our confidence.

There is much to dread in the internal state of France. A weak king unaccustomed to rule, and acquainted only with the corruption of the old régime: a venal senate anxious to preserve their own pensions and authority, basely submitting to all the mischievous caprices of Bonaparte, till the final period of his fall; a legislative body not

chosen by the people, but emanating from the Ex-Emperor; the marshals acting the part of leaders of the Praetorian guards turning round with great facility, and from obedience to Bonaparte, changing with fortune and declaring their adhesion to Louis; still attached to their trade of war, and endeavouring to impress a military character on the future government; all these form a mass of discordant materials, more likely to disturb the peace, than to administer to the repose of the world, while the friends of the revolution stand aloof for the present, but would avail themselves of any opportunity to secure the freedom of the people on a secure basis.

France also, by the king appointing a committee to revise the constitution, is, like Holland, to have a constitution given by the rulers to the people, instead of the people restraining their rulers by a constitution in trust for the general benefit. Such are the retrograde movements of the present era so unfavourable to liberty!

Amid all this chaos of uncertainty he would be a bold man, who would venture to establish his character for foresight by prognosticating what surprizing events may occur in the ensuing twelve months. They can scarcely, however, be more strange, than those which have taken place in the preceding space of time. Perhaps succeeding events may be no less strange and interesting. The drivelling piety of Louis XVIII., merely confined to external devotion, is not the best quality to enable him to discharge the arduous trust of his new situation, and fit him to be an useful good chief-ruler. The funeral service, for the late kings and queen of France is highly impolitic, as tending to revive old animosities. There is no free press in France to warn the king of his danger, and no reliance can be placed on

the partial accounts published in the French papers. Of the real state of the public mind in France, we are still very much in ignorance.

It is not a little curious to contrast the flight of the Bourbons from France and their late return to it. If they depend greatly on the loud huzzas of a mob, many of whom are venal, and many are versatile, they will form erroneous calculations. The war was begun to ascertain and vindicate the rights of the people; and now, not only in France but in Holland, with all the boasted disinterestedness of the allies, the present contest partakes more of a struggle for the assumed rights of kings and princes. Thus in most situations the interests of the people are postponed. Kings are advanced, but the people are duped and suffer.

The address of the Common Council of the city of London at page 399 breathes a good spirit, indicating that every virtuous feeling has not been rendered callous by the war, although the nation is to a considerable degree retrogressive, in public opinion. A hope is thus afforded of better times more favourable to liberty; if the horrors of a debasing warfare should cease, and man have leisure and opportunity to consider, and claim his unalienable rights. The answer of the Prince affords a strong contrast to the good spirit of the address. The happiness of the French people is attributed to the restoration of their hereditary monarchy; as if the people were made for kings, and not kings for the people. Britain showed an example of not adhering to hereditary succession. Princes and the corrupt retainers of a court are among the last to acquire knowledge, and receive instruction from passing events.

The Westminster address also

speaks a bold and spirited language, daring to tell unwelcome truths, and to advocate the necessity of parliamentary reform.

The necessity of a reform calculated to strengthen the representative system is clearly apparent in the discussions in parliament on British interference against Norway. Sound argument, truth and justice were on one side, but they were totally inefficacious against hollow and premeditated majorities.

Parliament has lately voted the sum of £25,000 for criminal prosecutions in Ireland. Great part of this enormous sum was employed against the liberty of the press. Can liberty exist with such a sum employed, if not directly against it, at least in great part? In other cases also, these prosecutions afford means to support the patronage, and influence of government, rather than impartially to repress outrages. The whole weight of power is employed against the people. Public money is squandered, and the people put down by means drawn from themselves.

Many are the means direct and indirect to keep up the undue influence of government over the people. This influence interferes with our charities and proves the obliquity of public opinion. A subscription for German sufferers by the war,* is become quite fashion-

* The Queen, a native of Germany, has not, however, thought proper to come forward on the occasion, although reminded of it by one of those hoaxes so common, and on this occasion less blameably used. A letter was published as from her secretary, declaring her intention of subscribing £2000. But alas! she with

— "a meek and pious air,
Admits and leaves them Providence's care."

No considerations either serious or in jest, have as yet prevailed on her, to give any portion of her large board.

able in England, and is made a signal for loyalty. The Quakers have stepped conspicuously, if not ostentatiously forward on the occasion. They on all occasions are ready to use the hacknied phrase, that "they meddle not in politics." Yet in this instance, their charity is guided by political considerations. They and others contribute to German sufferers, because subscriptions for them are patronized by government, and are used as a political engine to lead the public mind, but the equally great sufferings of the Norwegians are neglected; because the crooked policy of government assists to inflict these grievous sufferings. Norway in consequence of the war, has long suffered from the effects of famine; the inhabitants were compelled to use the bark of trees mixed in their bread. They were last year forced to use most of their seed corn for food, and leave their grounds untilled. In such a crisis an order has been issued by the British government to blockade the ports of Norway, to prevent supplies reaching them, because they refused to be transferred like beasts of burden from Denmark to Sweden, in furtherance of some plan of the allies, even of Alexander lately surnamed the Good, to partition the north of Europe. The attempts of private persons to obtain relief for them are feeble, and easily crushed. The merchants of Leith petition in their favour, because they have on hands a large store of grain bought to send to Norway. Westminster notices their piteous case, but there is no burst of generous indignation. Surely this is the age of hypocritical pretence in people as well as rulers.

The dark cloud of war still hangs over the western hemisphere, a cloud dreaded by the lovers of peace, but acceptable to the war faction as affording a renewal to

their hopes. Even at Westminster meeting a cry in favour of war with America, disgraced the general enlightened proceedings of that assembly. We are too much a war-loving nation. Misfortunes only correct this evil propensity. The former war with America was popular until want of success and repeated miscarriages proved the impracticability of conquering the United States. From the manner in which the present war is sometimes spoken of, there appears room to dread a wild impracticable scheme may exist somewhere of re-conquering America, and bringing it again under British government. The Prince Regent might think such a measure would add to the fancied glories of his rule, and the harpies who live on war and corruption would rejoice in a renewal of their hopes, arising from the gain of war, and the restoration of the extensive patronage of America. Every sentiment of prudence, and of policy rises up against the mad attempt, an attempt which must prove unavailing unless the Americans are so debased as to surrender their dearly bought national independence without a struggle. If they suffer themselves to be so degraded by intestine division, they deserve their fate. But it is impossible yet to think so meanly of them, and the madness of British statesmen may again involve these countries in a fruitless contest, and add some hundreds of millions more to our national debt, to waste our energies, debase our spirit, and increase our already intolerable burdens. A large armament is going out, it is said, from the British army in France. American negotiators are arrived in Europe, and the United States are engaged in repealing their embargo and non-importation laws; not, probably, with a

pacific intent, as has been supposed, from fright at the recent events in Europe, but more likely with a design to embroil Britain with the northern powers, on the question of neutral rights, in the maintenance of which they will now find themselves equally interested as America was in the war between France and Britain. The Russians will, now find themselves aggrieved by the British assumption against neutrals, and the claims of paper blockades, and there yet may be a war against the tyrant of the seas, as lately existed against the encroachments of Bonaparte on land.

An advertisement, published among the documents, informs, that Joseph Lancaster is no longer connected with the committee who took his plan of education under their care. This man's inordinate vanity and thoughtlessness have forced this measure on the committee to save his useful plan from destruction by himself.

The great domestic struggle between intolerance and liberality still goes on, while varying circumstances occasionally diversify the grounds of attack and defence. This country is divided between Catholics and Orangemen, and their Protestant allies on both sides of the question. Vile reports are artfully circulated in many places, but especially in Derry, and its neighbourhood, that the Ribbonmen are going to rise to murder the Protestants. Many well-meaning weak people are imposed upon, and terrified by those malicious rumours calculated to throw an unmerited odium on Catholics, and by the work of division to support the sordid monopoly of Protestant ascendancy. These stratagems are well calculated to work on the passions of the timid, and are evident-

ly intended to deter from embracing the cause of equal justice, and Catholic emancipation. Many Protestants not sworn brothers, are nevertheless tinged with Orange principles, and though they occasionally condemn some of the more outrageous proceedings of the party, they are actuated by a secret bias, which they wish should pass for an honourable neutrality, while in reality they are decided partisans. Orange societies, notwithstanding their boasts, and a sprinkling of cant about religion, scattered through their constitution, promote immorality in more respects, than the direct encouraging of hostility between neighbours. The nights of their monthly meetings are peculiarly marked by the intemperate ebullitions of drunkenness on their return to their homes.

In the present struggle which Catholics in self-defence are necessitated to maintain against open enemies, insidious friends, and even against some members of their own church at home and abroad, they are subjected to every unfair mode of attack. Because they oppose foreign interference, militating against their political and religious liberty, they are charged with factious motives, and with obstructing their own emancipation.* Viewing the subject as politicians, and regarding its bearing on the cause of liberty, as being the only view which persons not members of their church have a right to take of the subject, the consis-

* There are seasons which try men's souls, and discover how far they are actuated by principle. The editor of the *Newry Telegraph*, after long professing impartiality, or rather attachment to the cause of religious liberty, has at length thrown off the mask, and attacks the Catholics, as factiously defeating their own relief, because they will not barter their rights and their liberty for partial and inadequate concessions.

tent friends of liberty must regret if the Catholic clergy of the first and second order should be placed under the influence of the minister. If a right to reject the choice of the Catholic bishops is granted to a board appointed at the will of the crown, the liberty of their church is gone. Bishops will be afraid lest their translations may be impeded, and priests of the second order will generally be fearful lest any warmth in favour of liberty, or any want of sycophantic meanness should be alleged against them at the Board, and obstruct their promotion to the mitre. Such is human nature, and every precaution ought to be used to correct the downward tendency in erring mortals. The crafty Castlereagh succeeded in shackling the Presbyterian church with a *Regium Donum*. May his wiles prove abortive in his attempts on the Pope to induce him to second his measures, or if unhappily he should succeed in that quarter, may the Irish Catholics persist in the virtue of refusing to accept the tempting bribe of emancipation at the expense of their liberties. Domestic nomination would to Protestants appear unobjectionable, if acceptable to the Catholics themselves. But on the broad principle of complete religious liberty, no concession of opinions ought to be demanded from any sect, unless it completely meet their own views. Opinions ought to be free, and actions against the state only punished. Catholics have shown, notwithstanding the bugbear of foreign influence alleged against them, that no practical evils to the state have arisen from it.

A rumour has gained ground that a grand Orange festival is to be celebrated at Belfast, on the next anniversary of the 12th of July, to continue for three days, at which Lodges from the distant parts of Ulster are to attend, and that sub-

scriptions are now raising to defray the expences of those, who cannot bear their own. If this report is to be credited, many serious considerations arise on the subject.

The processions at Belfast and on their long lines of march must be attended with many dangers to the public peace. It is evidently intended as an insulting triumph over the town of Belfast. The passions of a people, especially of the lower classes, are easily roused to acts of outrage; the procession is well calculated to inflame the passions on both sides. A slight offence, or even a notion that offence is intended, may lead to dreadful tumults. Last year the steps of Orangemen in Belfast were marked with blood, and *with arms previously prepared for the occasion*, they dreadfully retaliated for any provocations given to them. Prevention is better than remedy, and it is wisdom to avert if possible the coming evil. If Belfast has not totally lost its spirit, a strong memorial should be immediately presented to the executive government; stating the dangers and craving protection. All classes not parties in the procession, ought to join. The neutrals, who affect so great clearness from party, are especially called upon to interfere and to prove that they are sincerely friends to peace and good order. Already the parliamentary friends to the petitions against the proceedings and processions of Orangemen, have been furnished with information of the rumoured festival, that on the discussion which will arise on presenting the petitions, the dangers to be apprehended may be laid before parliament. The inhabitants of Belfast have a great and necessary duty to perform, in immediately forwarding a memorial to the Lord Lieutenant on the subject, and there is much reason

to hope that Lord Whitworth will see the dangers, which will necessarily arise from this ill-judged and insulting measure, and with a timely and even hand avert them, and impartially afford security to the community. K.

RESOLUTIONS OF THE CATHOLIC PRELATES.

The Catholic Bishops met in Synod, at Maynooth, on the 25th instant. They continued in conference until the 27th, when the following Resolutions were unanimously agreed to:

Resolved, That a Congratulatory Letter be addressed to his Holiness Pius VII. on his happy liberation from captivity.

Resolved, That having taken into our mature consideration the late RESCRIPT of the VICE-PREFECT of the PROPAGANDA, we are fully convinced that it is not *mandatory*.

Resolved, That we do now open a communication with the HOLY SEE on the subject of this document; and that, for this purpose, two PRELATES be forthwith deputed to convey our unanimous and well-known sentiments to the CHIEF PASTOR, from whose Wisdom, Zeal, and tried magnanimity, we have reason to expect such decision as will give general satisfaction.

Resolved, That the two last resolutions be respectfully communicated to the Rt. Hon the EARL of DONOUGHMORE, and to the Rt. Hon HENRY GRATTAN, with an earnest entreaty, that when the Question of Catholic Emancipation shall be discussed in Parliament, they will exert their powerful talents in excluding from the bill, intended for our relief, those clauses which we have already deprecated as severely penal to us, and highly injurious to our Religion.

A BRIEF STATEMENT OF REASONS IN SUPPORT OF THE PETITION AGAINST THE PROCEEDINGS AND PROCESSIONS OF ORANGEMEN; FORWARDED TO MEMBERS OF BOTH HOUSES OF PARLIAMENT, PREVIOUSLY TO THE EXPECTED DISCUSSION.

A clear and correct account of the commencement of the Orange system, which after having existed under the more homely appellation of Peen-of-day-boys, as-

sumed a body and shape in the year 1795, will be found in the subjoined speech of Lord Gosford to the Magistrates of the County of Armagh, on the 28th of Dec. in that year.* This declaration of Lord Gosford is in itself a body of evidence, nearly contemporary with the formation of the system, and affords an illustration of the views on which the society was primarily formed.

Besides the irritating consequences arising from the periodical processions and monthly meetings of this society, the hurtful effects it produces on the equal administration of justice are clearly apparent in the riots which, in consequence, take place. In these Orangemen are often the first aggressors; in other instances those of the other party may be the assailants. But in both cases, the public display is the original cause of the riots, and produces the disturbances, although the first assault may sometimes be made one side and sometimes on the other.

There is a general leaning on the part of many magistrates, a considerable number of whom are themselves Orangemen. They may not directly refuse redress to Catholics, but entrenched under the forms of law, they more strictly examine on one side, and avail themselves more readily of excuses for not acting; while in the case of Orangemen, they act more promptly, and with that energy which inclination adds to the performance of official duty. This manner of acting, reluctantly as towards one party, and cordially as towards the other, amounts, in many instances, to an absolute denial of justice, and introduces a system of partial administration of the laws. One party is protected, and emboldened in the commission of crimes, while the other discouraged, have, in some cases, had recourse to take redress into their own hands, and as might be expected, have acted in an unjustifiable manner.

The bias on a juror, who has taken the oath of an Orangeman, is also very great. The oath, which binds him to the interests of a secret society, and to the protection of his fellow-members, may often strongly militate against his oath as a juror. Instances have occurred in which Orangemen acting as jurors, have brought in verdicts contrary to the clearest evidence.

* See this important document, Belfast Monthly Magazine, No. 66, Volume 12, Page 55.